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The book has, however, one defect from the standpoint of the historical student. It is one of a popular series of biographies, and the plan of the series forbids the use of footnotes and references. Abundant references are given in Mr. Firth's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the two may be used to supplement each other, though at the cost of some convenience. The publishers would have done better to have allowed Mr. Firth more latitude, for this is not an ordinary popular volume. It is a model of what a brief biography should be, and it fills a gap in serious historical literature. The biographies by Mr. Frederic Harrison and Mr. Morley are brilliant and suggestive, but not authoritative, while the elaborately illustrated one by Mr. Gardiner is far too expensive for general use. Mr. Gardiner suggests that we shall have the standard life of Cromwell when Mr. Firth undertakes to write one of two or three times the length of the present volume, unhampered by the restrictions of a popular series. It is to be hoped that a word from such an eminent source will not pass unheeded. In the meantime, the present volume will be generally accepted as the standard one of moderate cost and compass.

GUERNSEY JONES.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, M.A. Vol. III., 1654-1656. (London, New York and Bombay : Longmans, Green and Co. 1901. Pp. xix, 513.)

THE latest volume of this monumental work covers the years 1654-1656. Mr. Gardiner considers this the most important period for the proper understanding of the Protectorate. "The story of these two years," he says, "reveals to us the real character of the Protectorate, as no other part of its history can do. Up to the meeting of Parliament in 1654, all was expectation and conjecture. After the meeting of Parliament in 1656, affairs, no doubt, developed themselves in various directions, but the lines of their development were already laid down in the course of the period under survey in the present volume." A glance at the contents will show this to be true, for the narrative reaches the most important point of the four very important topics, Cromwell's relations with his Parliaments, his domestic policy, his treatment of Ireland and his relations with foreign states.

Mr. Gardiner has said in another connection that the Parliament of 1654 is the important one for the correct understanding of Cromwell's parliamentary difficulties. If his attitude in this case is grasped clearly our perplexity in the case of the succeeding Parliaments will disappear. We have all been disturbed by the incongruity of regarding Cromwell as a champion of liberty, which we are prone to identify with parliamentary rule, when he disposed of Parliaments in a more summary manner than Charles I. ever dared to do, and was confronted with the same arguments that were used against Wentworth, applied with little

change and almost equal force. Probably few members of the Parliament that recently voted the statue of Cromwell which stands under the shadow of Westminster Hall could justify their vote on constitutional grounds. Indeed, it is doubtful if anyone perfectly understood Cromwell's attitude toward parliamentary rule before the appearance of the present volume. Mr. Gardiner's solution of the puzzle is as clear as could be desired, and is likely to prove final.

Cromwell was no doctrinaire parliamentarian who believed that the majority has the inalienable right to its opinions, however erroneous. To him "the very end of Magistracie" was "the suppressing of vice and the encouragement of vertue," and if the nation was in the wrong it should be coerced for its own good. He cared more for the ideals of Puritanism than for any constitutional question whatever. Yet he was practical enough and parliamentary enough to see that the success of the Puritan cause depended upon its speedy establishment upon a parliamentary basis, and he spared no pains to bring this about. It appears that in 1654 he was not struggling against parliamentary rule as we understand it, but merely against the unrestricted rule of one House. His experience with the Rump Parliament and the Nominated Parliament was decisive and needed no repetition. He was afraid, with reason, that the Parliament, "unchecked by constitutional restrictions or by fear of the constituencies," would first make itself permanent and then endanger the best interests of Puritanism. To prevent this, he insisted upon the acceptance of four "fundamentals," which testify to his insight as well as to his moderation; for "his four fundamentals have been accepted by the nation, and are at this day as firmly rooted in its conscience as Parliamentary supremacy itself." According to this view, there is nothing incongruous in the position of Cromwell's statue. He was merely "insisting on conditions without which Parliamentary government is a vain show." Mr. Gardiner makes it clear that the dispute was not one which could be avoided by tactful management, as Green and others have asserted. It was not a dispute over the abstract question as to whether the Parliament might revise the Instrument of Government, for the Protector had expressly invited a vote upon it. The essential point at issue was the control of the army. Upon this point there could be no compromise. It was easy to insist, as Cromwell did, that the control should be divided between Protector and Parliament, but it was difficult if not impossible to devise a practical scheme for the division. It would be found in the end that either the Protector or the Parliament had usurped the control. At the present time, such a division is possible because there is an appeal in the last resort to the nation. At that time, an appeal was not possible, for "the nation or even the intellectually active part of it had not been educated in political thought. There were hundreds who could discourse on the true Constitution of the Church, and who could expansively utter their opinions on the craggiest points of divinity, for one who could say anything worth listening to on the Constitution of the State." This, in Mr. Gardiner's opinion, was

the kernel of the parliamentary difficulty, though Cromwell little realized it. It was a difficulty which only time could remedy.

The disagreement with Parliament and the royalist uprisings drove Cromwell to acts as illegal as Charles I. was ever guilty of. The two cases are strikingly similar, but they differed essentially in the character of the rule which each tried to impose upon the nation. Cromwell's efforts had the praiseworthy but fatal defect of being far in advance of what the English people were willing to accept, and his efforts in answer to Milton's exhortations to lead the three nations "from bad habits to a better economy and discipline of life than they had hitherto known" is the subject of three admirable chapters, *The Major-Generals*, *The Limits of Toleration* and *The Moral Order*. Religious toleration was practically complete except in the case of those religious bodies which were politically dangerous, and even these had less to complain of than might be expected. Roman Catholics were treated in a far more liberal manner than one would think possible by the author of the furious letter to the Irish clergy. "If his views on toleration did not quite reach the standard of the nineteenth century," says Mr. Gardiner, "they were in advance of all but the choicest spirits of the day in which he lived," and "his practice time after time outran his profession." Had Cromwell's life been prolonged, he might possibly have won the nation over to his views sufficiently to change the subsequent religious history of England, but in attempting to force upon it the Puritan standard of morals through the major-generals, he was clearly overstepping the limits of his power. Mr. Gardiner finds indications, too slight to be styled evidence, that this additional task was imposed upon the major-generals through the influence of Cromwell himself. However this may be, the mistake was fatal, for it brought home for the first time to large classes in the population the preponderance of the military force in the state. It was the dislike of military rule, so greatly augmented by these measures, which finally wrecked the Protectorate. These three chapters are of absorbing interest and must be read to be appreciated. They touch upon too many points of the highest importance to be presented in summary.

The chapter on the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland will be welcomed by those who feel that the importance of the Drogheda incident has been overestimated. Nations are not permanently estranged by a military massacre, and the English attitude towards the Irish is more clearly shown in the persistently followed policy of colonization and conversion than in a hasty command given "in the heat of action." Those who want to understand the Irish question will get more insight from Mr. Gardiner's chapter than from any number of acrimonious discussions of Drogheda. Mr. Gardiner retains the phrase "Cromwellian Settlement," though it was Cromwell's only in execution, not in conception, being planned long before by the Long Parliament. It was his conquest which made its execution possible and he took the liveliest personal interest in the matter, yet he was surprisingly ignorant of the Irish situation. The impression of Turkish ferocity which one gets on reading his decrees is

modified by the fact that neither he nor his subordinates in Dublin had a clear idea of their effect if carried into execution, while Cromwell himself was foremost in mitigating them when their cruelty and impracticability became evident. This is the most that can be said for him. It goes without saying that Mr. Gardiner gives the story exactly as it is, with no trace of partisanship and no attempt to gloss over the pitiful details.

I suspect that the present popularity of Cromwell in England is due at least in part to the vigor of his foreign policy rather than to his religious or constitutional efforts. No doubt this played its part in securing the statue at Westminster. From the time of the Restoration, when Englishmen muttered that the Dutch had not sailed up the Medway in Oliver's day, until the present time, this has been looked upon as a brilliant period in England's foreign relations, all the more brilliant for coming between two periods of shameful inactivity. Mr. Gardiner does not share this unbounded admiration and rightly refuses to judge the success of a foreign policy merely by the amount of terror inspired in one's neighbors. He shows how Cromwell's policy was defective in aim and incomplete in results. So far as we know, Cromwell was never out of England, and he was profoundly ignorant of continental affairs. He was completely under the spell of the absurd idea that the Catholic powers were combining to crush Protestantism and he was anxious to form a counter Protestant league. This formed the ideal side of his policy, "nobly conceived, but too complex to be carried out in successful action." Had he been better informed, he would have seen the impossibility of the union of France and Spain on the one side, and of Holland and Sweden on the other. The facts were so completely against him that the whole plan came to nothing, and the aspirations which he cherished to the end were never translated into action. Nor were his efforts to relieve persecuted Protestants in Catholic countries attended with the success he desired. He was able to turn a delicate diplomatic situation to account in the case of the Vaudois ; but in other cases he was powerless, for the statesmen of Europe had accepted without reserve the principle that each prince had absolute power of his subjects in matters of religion, and they considered local persecution more tolerable than a renewal of the religious wars. Mr. Gardiner even goes further and asserts in a remarkable passage, the closing one in the volume, that in claiming the right of interference in favor of the Huguenots in France Cromwell was adopting "the very policy to provoke such a youth as Louis," and was sowing "the seeds which were ultimately to come to an evil fruitage in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes."

The religious side of Cromwell's foreign policy is the subject of a chapter, *The Protestant Interest*, which is a little masterpiece. We have all admired the manner in which Ranke holds in hand the complicated threads of a diplomatic situation. While he has treated more complicated periods, it is doubtful if he has done anything finer in its way than Mr. Gardiner's short description of Baltic affairs. It has the simplicity which is the mark of true greatness. Possibly it cost him

less labor than other parts of the volume, but any one who has groped blindly through the sources of the period will be deeply impressed by the historical training necessary to seize so unerringly upon the salient points and to bring such admirable order out of chaos.

Mr. Gardiner's work as a whole has been so long before the public that a reviewer cannot be expected to dwell upon it. Its importance is not confined to the fact that he has completely rewritten the history of the period. Its effects are so far-reaching as permanently to raise the standard of historical writing among English-speaking peoples. There is no work which, both from the point of view of matter and manner, is more worth the constant perusal of American students. In a narrow sense, the period it covers is the period of American origins—in a broad sense all history is the history of American origins—while its method is so admirable that no one who has read widely in it is likely to go far astray. It is noticeable that Mr. Gardiner gets his wonderful results in the present volume not so much by the discovery of new sources of information as by the complete knowledge and careful use of what was already known. There are a number of accessions of new material, such as the third volume of the *Clarke Papers*, and Mr. Gardiner makes much of the reports of foreign ambassadors, but his narrative is often based upon papers perfectly familiar to his predecessors. This merely illustrates the fact, common to all sciences, that the best work can be done with materials already commonly known.

GUERNSEY JONES.

The Clarke Papers. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by C. H. FIRTH, M.A. Vol. III. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co. 1899. Pp. xxviii, 217.)

THE Clarke Manuscripts, as every one knows, are the most important recent accession of new material for the Cromwell period. We are indebted to Mr. Firth, not only for this admirable edition, but also for their discovery in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford. The present volume is made up largely of official news-letters sent from the headquarters of the army at Westminster to the headquarters of the army in Scotland. They cover the period from April 1653 to April 1659. Selections from the remainder of those written in 1659 are to form part of the fourth and concluding volume of the series. Two or three news-letters were sent every week, forming a complete chronicle of events from a military point of view. In general, they offer little that is new of supreme importance, for the writers suffered more or less from "military lock-jaw," but they contain a multitude of new and interesting details bearing upon all sorts of subjects, and form a new source of information which it is a delight to read and which no investigator can afford to neglect. Not the least interesting part of their contents is their version of well-known events, such as the expulsion of the Long Parliament, showing clearly the desire of the military party to minimize the